

Photocopies of KW.I of
Total no. of pages: 45

File No. 25/4/NHO-vol. IV

राष्ट्र गोपनीय

~~TOP SECRET~~

विदेश मंत्रालय
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
(एन० जी० ओ० अनुभाग)
(N. G. O. SECTION)

विषय : (कृपया इस आवरण को उलटें)
(Subject : Please Turn Over)

फाइल नं०
File No. KW.I of f.No. 25/4/NHO
- vol. IV

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(अरुण कुमार चट्टेजे)
(ARUN KUMAR CHATTERJEE)
संस्कृत संस्थान (कृष्णा विहार)
Joint Secretary (C.N.)
Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi



परम पात्र
TOP SECRET

Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

(D)

As desired by Foreign Secretary, a background note on "the proposal to bring back the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India", has been updated, incorporating/elaborating the following additional points:-

T-2632/NGO/95
16/12/95

- (a) Proj. Samar Guha's Motion in Lok Sabha on August 3, 1977.
 - (b) Prime Minister Moharji Desai's observations of August 28, 1978, while intervening in the Debate.
 - (c) Prof. Samar Guha's statement in the House while withdrawing his Motion.
 - (d) EAM's discussion with Foreign Minister Kono.
 - (e) PM's directive of November 30, 1995, to MEA, for processing the proposal to increase GOI's annual contribution to Yen 1 million.
 - (f) Reference about a report purported to have been written by a British national in 1945 with a publication embargo is rather sketchy. Salient points of this issue has been included in the report.
2. The report about Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is placed below in the form of a draft Cabinet Note.
3. FS may kindly see. FS may also like to see a report carried by the Statesman of today on DNA testing of Netaji's mortal remains.

T/198/EM/95
20/12

Rajat Saha.
(Rajat Saha)
Director(CNV)
16.12.1995

The note has been revised as mislabeled
by EAM.

S. I. Mislabel
19/12

✓ EAM

To be kept in NGO along with
related papers.

RJ
6/5

NGO

TOP SECRET

(2)
11

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

EAM had wished to have a briefing note on the proposal to bring back the mortal remains of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. This is placed below. The copies of the various reports referred to in the note are available, should EAM wish to peruse them.

T-2466/NGO/95
22/11/95

T-520/FS/95
21/11

T-180/EKM/95
27.11.95

J. / min/w

(S. Haidar)
Foreign Secretary
21.11.1995

translat

✓ EAM Rej
13-12-95

~~TOP SECRET~~

(3)

Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

The Union Cabinet had considered on February 8, 1995, the question of bringing the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose from Japan to India. While deferring a final decision, the Cabinet directed that the dependability of the arrangements in Japan should be properly examined and that a contingency plan for the proper upkeep of the mortal remains should be drawn up, and that our Ambassador in Tokyo be specifically requested to look into these aspects. Reference on this subject was received by Foreign Secretary from Home Secretary Shri K. Padmanabhaiya, on March 31, 1995.

2. After obtaining detailed assessment from our Ambassador in Tokyo, Foreign Secretary replied to Home Secretary, conveying information on the subject, which, inter alia, outlined the present arrangements to keep the ashes, existing security arrangements at the shrine, pressure for removal of ashes to India, the views of the Priest, Rev. Mochizuki, stand of the Foreign Office, and Ambassador's impressions. A copy of Foreign Secretary's letter dated June 19, 1995, is placed below.

3. On September 5, 1995, Ashish C. Ray of CNN, who is the son of Netaji's elder brother, proposed to the Prime Minister, in his fax, to direct conducting of a DNA test, which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Renkoji Temple, are Netaji's or not. Further, he proposed that an international team of experts, one of whom could be from our DNA Centre at Hyderabad, be "entrusted with the job, with a set of observers from the Bose family, the Forward Bloc, and such like". Copy of Shri Ray's fax is also enclosed for ready reference.

4. A background note on the death/disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose, based on observations of Shah Nawaz Committee Report and Khosla Commission of Inquiry, is kept on file for EAM's information. This background note also includes report received from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated February 3, 1956.

Submitted.

R. Saha
(Rajat Saha)
Director(CNV)
16-11-1995

FS

(1)

Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

Note for the Cabinet

Subject : Proposal to bring back the mortal remains of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Japan to India.

The mortal remains of Netaji are now kept in the Bose Academy in Tokyo. In view of the widespread sentiments that Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be befittingly commemorated, the proposal to bring back the ashes with due respect and honour, needs to be pursued and a decision is required to be taken well in advance as to what is to be done with these mortal remains.

BACKGROUND NOTE ON VARIOUS REPORTS AND OPPOSITION TO CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

1. Netaji's death is an issue surcharged with emotions. The issue of whether he actually died in the plane crash of August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, has been questioned by some individuals and organizations.

(a) Shah Nawaz Committee Report: In response to a public demand, the Government of India appointed a 3-member committee on April 5, 1956, "to inquire into and report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August, 1945, his alleged death as a result of an aircraft accident, and subsequent developments therewith". The Committee, by a majority of 2:1, came to the conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku (Taiwan) on August 18, 1945. While S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra, signed the report, Shri Suresh Chander Bose disagreed with this conclusion and submitted a dissenting report. Although the report of the Committee was considerably devalued by this dissent, the majority report was accepted by the Government.

(b) Khosla Commission of Inquiry: In view of widespread feeling amongst the public that the problem of finding the truth about Netaji's death still remains, and there has been a persistent demand for a further inquiry into the matter, the Central Government instituted on July 11, 1970, one-man Commission of Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, was appointed as sole member. The Commission visited Japan, Burma, Thailand,

Singapore, Malaysia, South Vietnam and Taiwan and examined 224 witnesses (including 100 examined abroad). A large number of files and documents produced before the Commission, were examined. The Commission arrived at the same conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945. The Cabinet considered this report and accepted the findings. The report of the Commission, along with the memorandum of action taken thereon, was laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament on September 3, 1974.

- c) Extract of a letter dated 19th June, 1966 written by Shah Nawaz Khan, M.P to the then Foreign Secretary Shri S. Dutt about Col. Figgess's report

During the course of his evidence before the Shah Nawaz Committee in Tokyo, one Col. J.G. Figgess is reported to have stated in September 1945 that he had received orders in September 1945 from either the Headquarters of Supreme Allied Commander S.E. Asia Command, Kandy or the Director of Military Intelligence India, asking him to carry out enquiries in Tokyo and Formosa to ascertain the truth about the story of the death of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. These enquiries were carried out by him and Col. Figgess was positive that a copy of this report would be available with the British Government. He has also sent a copy of his report to the then Government of India (either the Director of Military Intelligence, GHQ India or the Director of Intelligence Branch, New Delhi).

High Commissioner's reference dated 27th February, 1978 to Lord Mountbatten after the publication of the classified document called "The Transfer of Powers 1942-47". Lord Mountbatten stated the following "My archives have been searched and there is no official record of his death and I know that this doubt was shared by Wavell himself but in a book, "The End of the War in Asia" by Louis Allen, who served as a Japanese language officer in India and Burma during and at the end of the war, he described in detail the air crash on the 18th August 1945 in which Chandra Bose died.

In this book he also states that in 1956 a mission was sent to Japan to enquire into the crash and although Suresh Bose still stuck to the belief that his brother was alive in the Soviet Union, other members of the mission were convinced by the evidence of the 67 witnesses who were called, that he had died in the crash. The fact that he has never surfaced anywhere to my knowledge makes it appear more than ever clear he was in fact killed in the crash.

The letter you quote from Vol.VI of "The Transfer of Power" is dated the 23rd August but it is reply to a letter written on the 11th August by Sir Evan Jenkins, that is, seven days before Chandra Bose's death.

H.V. Hodson, author of "The Great Divide", appears to accept without question the death of Chandra Bose, and he had access to the papers in my archives when preparing to write his book.

d) Shri Samar Guha moved a Motion in Lok Sabha on August 3, 1977, urging the Government to set up a 3-man commission for conducting a fresh inquiry into the mystery of the disappearance of Netaji. The motion was discussed at length in 1977 and also in 1978. On the 28th August, 1978 the Prime Minister intervening in the debate observed:

"There have been two enquiries into the report of the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the air-crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku airfield during his air-journey to Manchuria, one by a Committee presided over by Maj.General Shah Nawaz Khan and the second by a one-man Commission of Inquiry headed by Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Judge of the Punjab High Court. The majority report of the first Committee and Shri Khosla held the report of the death as true. Since then, reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness of the conclusions reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive. At the same time Government feels that no useful purpose would be served by having any further inquiry. I hope that in the light of this statement my Hon. friend will withdraw his motion".

Thereafter Prof. Guha withdrew his motion. While doing so he declared in the House:

"Today, I cannot express my gratitude to the Prime Minister because today ends a crusade that in my humble way I was trying to conduct on behalf of the people of India at least to see that officially and legally Netaji is not declared dead".

The question of authenticity of the ashes kept in the Renkoji Temple in Japan as those of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose remained inconclusive. As indicated by the then Prime Minister in the House the Government did not contemplate any fresh enquiry into the matter. It was, however, found that the point raised by Shri Guha in the speech in the House had been fully examined in the Home Ministry in the context of the Khosla Commission findings and no fresh grounds requiring further investigations by a new commission had been advanced by him. The matter was, therefore, placed before the CCPA with the following proposal:

"The issue of Netaji's death and bringing of ashes to India is surcharged with emotion. We have already had two enquiries on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. It has already been accepted that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died in the air crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku. The Ministry of Home Affairs are, therefore, of the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another enquiry or/by bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions."

The CCPA approved the proposal on 27th February, 1991 and the matter was laid at rest.

(d) Report of the Japanese Foreign Office: In a note verbale issued by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy of India in Japan, dated January 31, 1956, the Foreign Office forwarded a report prepared by their Ministry on the cause of death and other matters related to late Subhash Chandra Bose. The investigation report incorporated the fact that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died on August 18, 1945 at 7 PM. The report, inter alia, included sequence of events leading to the sad demise of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, along with rough sketch map of the airport, aircraft, and the Taipei Army Hospital. This report was taken into account by both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission of Inquiry.

UNION CABINET DECISION OF FEBRUARY 8, 1995

2. The Union Cabinet had considered on February 8, 1995, the question of bringing the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India. While deferring a final decision, the Cabinet directed that the dependability of the arrangements in Japan should be properly examined and that a contingency plan for the proper upkeep of the mortal remains should be drawn up, and that our Ambassador in Tokyo be specifically requested to look into these aspects.

PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS

3. The ashes are currently kept in an urn on the right side of the main altar in the Renkoji Temple in the outskirts (but within the city) of Tokyo. Like all shrines in Japan, there is no security except what is ensured by the reverence and respect shown by the Japanese towards religious places. The shrine is not exclusively devoted to the ashes of Netaji, and is visited by worshippers who do not necessarily go there to pay respect to the ashes. Strengthening of security is not likely to be received kindly, as this is a place of worship open to all. Furthermore, any suggestion from us could well revive the occasional suggestions from the Japanese that we should take the ashes to India.

4. The shrine is looked after by Rev. Yasufumi Mochizuki, whose father was the priest of the shrine earlier and had personally brought the ashes from Taipei about 50 years ago. Amongst the list of members of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Academy, he is the youngest and is 55 years old. Rev. Mochizuki appears to be quite happy to carry on the work of looking after the ashes and has told our Embassy that he has no intention of doing anything without the full consultation and approval of Japanese and Indian Governments. We donate Yen 600,000 annually, for the upkeep. It was felt that the contribution could perhaps be increased to Yen 1 million. As per PM's directive dated 30th November, 1995, MEA is processing the proposal to increase Government of India's annual contribution to the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo from Yen 600,000/- to Yen One million.

PRESSURE FOR REMOVAL OF ASHES TO INDIA

5. Our Ambassador's impression is that such pressure as there is, comes chiefly from the associates of Netaji who are growing older and who feel a personal sense of responsibility for the ashes. They feel that after them, there might be nobody to pay proper respect to the memory of Netaji. Even within the group, the main pressure is from older members, especially Mr. Hayashi, Secretary of the Bose Academy. He is in poor health. At the memorial service on August 19, 1994, Mr. Hayashi had said that that would be the last memorial service "in keeping with Buddhist tradition and practice". While it is not clear that there is any rule for discontinuance of the memorial service after 50 years, the younger members appear to be quite willing to carry on the memorial service although they would all be happy to see Netaji's ashes repatriated to India with due honour and ceremony.

6. Ambassador's remarks on the "present arrangements" and "pressure for removal of ashes to India" were conveyed to the Home Secretary by Foreign Secretary in June, 1995.

VIEWS OF JAPANESE FOREIGN OFFICE

7. (a) The Japanese Foreign Office has asked us whether, in view of the forthcoming 50th anniversary of Netaji's death and the forthcoming centenary of his birth (January 23, 1997), we propose to take the ashes back to India. This has been more in the nature of an inquiry than a suggestion. It is unlikely that the Foreign Office would do anything without consulting us and seeking our concurrence.

EAM'S talks with Japanese Foreign Minister Kono

(b) During EAM's visit to Japan, Foreign Minister Yohei Kono referred to the visit of EAM to Renkoji temple on 8 September, 1995 and said that there were many Japanese who respected Netaji Bose. The background to the issue of Netaji's ashes was better understood when one notes that the people taking care of the ashes are getting old. But the issue remains unresolved. FMYK sought EAM's candid assessment. EAM replied that it was one of the issues which India is addressing. The centenary celebration of Netaji was falling next year. Some family members, specially one of Netaji's nephews, had raised strong objection to the taking of ashes to India. He belongs to a political party which does not believe that Netaji died on that particular occasion. The Government's earlier decision to award the Bharat Ratna to Netaji posthumously was challenged in the court on the ground that his death had not been clearly established. At the same time, however, there was an important section including INA veterans, which feels strongly that the ashes should be kept in a monument in India dedicated to Netaji. We are already talking to them. This month we are also continuing discussion with Netaji's relatives to resolve the issue. India is grateful to the Japanese Government and people for protecting the ashes for so long with reverence. FMYK said that many people in Japan have respect for Netaji and there was no inconvenience in keeping the ashes here. However, he personally felt that it would be better to return the ashes to his homeland and to his family. EAM said that India would give weight to the views of his daughter who was in favour of taking the ashes to India. In any case, the issue was expected to be resolved soon.

STAND OF THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN OFFICE

8.. In a note verbale dated October 27, 1995, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, informed us that as a result of investigations carried out at the Central Archival Collection of the Federal Security Service of Russia, and the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History, no information whatsoever has come to light on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the former USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years.

MEA'S SUGGESTIONS

9. MEA suggested that in view of the widespread sentiments Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be befittingly commemorated, the ashes should be brought back to India with due respect and honour. This action would form part of the full public recognition of his role and contribution to India's independence. In doing so, the following preparatory action was envisaged:

i) Promotion of consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing back the ashes... public figures and others to be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes, or

ii) Alternatively, establishment of a committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary with participation of public figures of various political opinions who would give a call for bringing back the late leader's ashes to India.

MHA'S STAND

10. Based on the inputs received from MEA and IB, it was felt that if a decision is taken to bring the ashes back to India, creation of favourable public opinion will be a crucial step in the realisation of this objective. Some members of the Bose family, particularly Shri Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew, and individuals like Prof Samar Guha and members of the Forward Bloc, are not reconciled to the fact that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku. It would, therefore, be necessary to take members of Netaji's family into confidence in the first place by convincing them of the genuineness of the ashes. The question of an appropriate memorial involving the mortal remains shall also have to be addressed in due course.

PROPOSAL OF ASHIS C. RAY OF CNN

11. Ashis C. Ray of CNN, who is the grandson of Netaji's elder brother, visited Japan about a year ago and had met officials at the Foreign Office. On September 5, 1995, Shri Ray proposed to the Prime Minister, in a fax message, to direct conducting of a DNA test which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Reploji Temple are Netaji's or not. Further, he proposed that an international team of experts, one of whom could be from our DNA Centre at Hyderabad, be "entrusted with the job with a set of observers from the Bose family, the Forward Block, and such like". He stated that a blood sample could be taken from a relative and bone particles from the ashes or a tooth (which is likely to exist in the urn on the basis of a claim made by Netaji's ADC Col. Habibur Rahman), to carry out the tests.

Mr. Ashish Ray claimed that he learnt in November, 1995 that Dr. Taneyoshi Yoshimi (The doctor who attended on Netaji Subhash Bose after the plane crash on August 18, 1945 at Taihoku) was alive and with the help of a Japanese colleague interviewed him. In a published article in the Statesman on 12.12.95, Mr. Ashish Ray stated categorically that Netaji Subhash Bose died after being involved in a plane crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945 and that Dr. Yoshimi confirmed to him having written the death certificate of Netaji Subhash Bose.

VIEWS OF NETAJI'S DAUGHTER

12. Ms. Anita Pfaff, Netaji's daughter from his German wife, had visited Delhi for discussions with other members of the family and been in touch with the Japanese Ambassador in Delhi in February 1995. She had also written to some associates of Netaji, including Hayashi. EAM met her in Germany in October 1995. During discussion with EAM, she expressed her willingness to go along with the proposal of bringing back the ashes to India but did not approve of the DNA test.

VIEWS OF OTHER IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF NETAJI'S FAMILY

13. While Dr. Sisir Bose supports the idea of bringing back the ashes, Dr. Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew remains the most vociferous skeptic of the air 'crash' episode and opposes any proposal of bringing back the ashes.

Opposition stand forces Govt to shelve plan

No DNA testing of Netaji's ashes

SUBRATA SEN

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Dec. 15. — Following political controversy, the Ministry of External Affairs has more or less shelved its plans to go for DNA testing of Netaji's "ashes" preserved at Renkoji temple in Tokyo.

According to sources, the Government will not go ahead with negotiations regarding bringing back the ashes from Japan to avoid unnecessary political complications before the elections. In fact, the Prime Minister, Mr Narsimha Rao, is understood to have directed the Ministry to maintain a very low profile on this issue until the elections are over and a con-

sensus is reached among all the political parties.

Interestingly, politics is playing a major game in the Government's plans to celebrate Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's birth centenary next year. It has been decided that even the birth centenary celebrations should be postponed by a year and be held in 1997 instead of 1996, as elections are due next year. According to the original plans of the Union Government, the celebrations would have begun on January 23.

The issue of DNA testing has come in for flak from many of the Opposition parties at meetings of the Union Government's Netaji birth centenary committee, headed by the Prime

Minister himself. The general secretary of the Forward Bloc, Mr Chitta Basu, protested against the Government's decision to put the issue of DNA testing in the agenda and has urged the Government to delete the issue.

According to Mr Basu, the Government has no business to conduct DNA test, unless the death controversy of Netaji is fully settled. "There are various contradictory versions and nothing can be proved conclusively," said Mr Basu, adding that the late Prime Minister, Morarji Desai had given a statement in this respect, which is supposed to be the Union Government's stand on the matter. "Unless the Union Government can now

come up with some concluding evidence, we will oppose the idea of DNA testing and bringing back the ashes from Renkoji temple," Mr Basu said.

Some members of the Forward Bloc, in their individual capacity, have already moved the Supreme Court to seek a stay on the Government's plans to bring back the ashes, and this has complicated the matter further.

Incidentally, it is not only the Forward Bloc that is opposing the idea of DNA testing. The other Opposition parties too, including the CPI(M), and even the BJP have rejected the idea. The BJP, in fact, has launched a

■ See DNA: page 10

DNA: Ministry in favour

(Continued from page 1)

agitation in Calcutta protesting against DNA testing of Netaji's ashes.

In view of all these, the Union Government is not prepared to pursue the DNA testing idea and would wait till the controversy settled down. According to a senior Minister: "We would not like ourselves to be drawn into any controversy. Netaji issue has always been a very politically sensitive one."

However, despite the controversy, many in the External Affairs Ministry are of the opinion that the Government should have gone ahead with the DNA testing to settle Netaji's death mystery once and for all. Officials in the Ministry point out that the Japanese Government, in a recent letter to the Government, has requested the Indian Government to take back Netaji's ashes from Renkoji temple. It has also certified that the ashes are genuinely of Netaji.

"That the Japanese Government has requested us to take back the ashes has more than solved the controversy," said an official. "Unless the Japanese Government were not sure that the ashes are genuine, they would not have made the request as that would have created international repercussions," he added.

THE STATESMAN

DT. 16.12.95

Panel sought to probe into Netaji's death

CALCUTTA, Nov. 19. — Forward Bloc leader, Mr Ashok Ghosh has demanded constitution of an inquiry committee to probe the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, following reasonable doubts on the leader's death in a plane crash at Taihoku on August 18 1945, reports UNI.

He said here yesterday that his party never believed that Subhas Chandra Bose was still alive and would only seek a fair review of the episode. He said the former Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, had informed the Parliament on August 28, 1978 that many doubts had cropped up about the death of Netaji and that the onus lied with the Union Government to come out with the exact picture.

Mr Ghosh said many new incidents had come to light after the break-up of the Soviet Union and recovery of reports stored in the archives of some newly constituted countries. He said the Union Government should set up a high powered committee to find the truth about his death. He said the Centre should not try to confuse the people by bringing the ashes of Netaji, particularly in the birth centenary year of the great leader of the freedom movement.

He said the Government had earlier failed to provide enough

supporting documents in the Supreme Court to prove Subhas Chandra Bose's death when its decision to posthumously award him the Bharat Ratna had been challenged. The posthumous award was subsequently withdrawn by the Government.

The Forward Bloc leader alleged that the Congress had never adopted a respectable attitude towards Netaji. Rather, he maintained, the ruling party at the Centre had tried to create confusion among the people.

Mr Ghosh claimed that the current attempt by the Union Government to bring Netaji's ashes was to divert the people's mind from the truth. He said the people had a right to know the exact report about Subhas Chandra Bose. This had now become easier after the opening up of the erstwhile Soviet Union.

He said the Government could unearth the truth if it constituted a high-powered committee to go into the reports, now available in the archives of some countries, he maintained that the Shahnawaz Khan Commission and the Khosla Commission reports contained dissenting opinions and added that the issue should be reviewed based on other very relevant documents available in the archives of some countries.

14417/15/95 (14)
14/9 4096/EAM/45
819/

ASHIS C. RAY

F-162 Malcha Marg
New Delhi - 110021. 7016/N GO/

5 September, 1995.

Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India
Race Course Road
New Delhi.

Dear Prime Minister,

I realise you are receiving conflicting signals on the issue of Netaji's remains. And I do not wish to be a part of a pressure group one way or the other.

What I wish to submit is that my continuing research on the subject convinces me that the best way forward is to do a DNA test, which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Renkoji temple are Netaji's or not. I have spoken to an expert on the subject; and he has no doubt that irrevocable proof can be obtained.

May I propose that an international team of experts, one of whom from our DNA centre at Hyderabad, is entrusted with the job, set of observers drawn from the Bose family, Forward Bloc and like.

We doubtless noticed that last week a team of DNA experts finished that remains regarding which there were doubts do indeed belong to Czar Nicholas. All we need is a blood sample from a relative and bone particles from the ashes or a tooth (which is likely to exist in the urn on the basis of a claim made by Netaji's ADC, Colonel Habibur Rahman) to carry out the test.

A direction from you on the matter can set the ball rolling.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Asis C. Ray

EAM May 1995
2584-M
8-7-95

By (P.S.
12/9)

F.P. 12/9
NAD 8

TOTAL P.01

Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

The Union Cabinet had considered on February 8, 1995, the question of bringing the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose from Japan to India. While deferring a final decision, the Cabinet directed that the dependability of the arrangements in Japan should be properly examined and that a contingency plan for the proper upkeep of the mortal remains should be drawn up, and that our Ambassador in Tokyo be specifically requested to look into these aspects.

PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS

2. The ashes are currently kept in an urn on the right side of the main altar in the Renkoji Temple in the outskirts (but within the city) of Tokyo. Like all shrines in Japan, there is no security except what is ensured by the reverence and respect shown by the Japanese towards religious places. The shrine is not exclusively devoted to the ashes of Netaji, and is visited by worshippers who do not necessarily go there to pay respect to the ashes. Strengthening of security is not likely to be received kindly, as this is a place of worship open to all. Furthermore, any suggestion from us could well revive the occasional suggestions from the Japanese that we should take the ashes to India.

3. The shrine is looked after by Rev. Yasufumi Mochizuki, whose father was the priest of the shrine earlier and had personally brought the ashes from Taipei about 50 years ago. Amongst the list of members of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose Academy, he is the youngest and is 55 years old. Rev. Mochizuki appears to be quite happy to carry on the work of looking after the ashes and has told our Embassy that he has no intention of doing anything without the full consultation and approval of Japanese and Indian Governments. We donate Yen 600,000 annually, for the upkeep. It is felt that the contribution could perhaps be increased to Yen 1 million.

PRESSURE FOR REMOVAL OF ASHES TO INDIA

4. Our Ambassador's impression is that such pressure as there is, comes chiefly from the associates of Netaji who are growing older and who feel a personal sense of responsibility for the ashes. They feel that after them, there might be nobody to pay proper respect to the memory of Netaji. Even within the group, the main pressure is from older members, especially Mr. Hayashi, Secretary of the Bose Academy. He is in poor health. At the memorial service on August 18, 1994, Mr. Hayashi had said that that would be the last memorial service "in keeping with Buddhist tradition and practice". While it is not clear that there is any rule for discontinuance of the memorial service after 50

years, the younger members appear to be quite willing to carry on the memorial service although they would all be happy to see Netaji's ashes repatriated to India with due honour and ceremony.

VIEWS OF
JAPANESE F.O.

STAND OF THE
RUSSIAN F.O.

PROPOSAL OF
ASHIS C. RAY
OF CNN

BACKGROUND NOTE
ON VARIOUS REPORTS
AND OPPOSITION TO
CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

5. The Japanese Foreign Office has asked us whether, in view of the forthcoming 50th anniversary of Netaji's death and the forthcoming centenary of his birth (January 23, 1997), we propose to take the ashes back to India. This has been more in the nature of an inquiry than a suggestion. It is unlikely that the Foreign Office would do anything without consulting us and seeking our concurrence.

6. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation have informed us that no information whatsoever is available on the stay of the former President of Indian National Congress Netaji Subhash Chander Bose in the Soviet Union in 1945 and thereafter.

7. Ashis C. Ray of CNN, who is the grandson of Netaji's elder brother, visited Japan about a year ago and had met officials at the Foreign Office. On September 5, 1995, Shri Ray proposed to the Prime Minister, in a fax message, to direct conducting of a DNA test which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Renkoji Temple are Netaji's or not. Further, he proposed that an international team of experts, one of whom could be from our DNA Centre at Hyderabad, be "entrusted with the job with a set of observers from the Bose family, the Forward Bloc, and such like". He stated that a blood sample could be taken from a relative and bone particles from the ashes or a tooth (which is likely to exist in the urn on the basis of a claim made by Netaji's ADC Col. Habibur Rahman), to carry out the tests.

8. Netaji's death is an issue surcharged with emotions. The issue of whether he actually died in the plane crash of August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, has been questioned by some individuals and organizations.

(a) Shah Nawaz Committee Report: In response to a public demand, the Government of India appointed a 3-member committee on April 5, 1956, "to inquire into and report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August, 1945, his alleged death as a result of an aircraft accident, and subsequent developments therewith". The Committee, by a majority of 2:1, came to the conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku (Taiwan) on August 18, 1945. While S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra, signed the report, Shri Suresh Chander Bose disagreed with this conclusion and submitted a dissenting report. Although the report of the Committee was considerably devalued by this dissent, the majority report was accepted by the Government.

: 3 :

(b) Khosla Commission of Inquiry: In view of widespread feeling amongst the public that the problem of finding the truth about Netaji's death still remains, and there has been a persistent demand for a further inquiry into the matter, the Central Government instituted on July 11, 1970, one-man Commission of Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose. Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court, was appointed as sole member. The Commission visited Japan, Burma, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, South Vietnam, and Taiwan, and examined 224 witnesses (including 100 examined abroad). A large number of files and documents produced before the Commission, were examined. The Commission arrived at the same conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945. The Cabinet considered this report and accepted the findings. The report of the Commission, along with the memorandum of action taken thereon, was laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament on September 3, 1974. Shri Samar Guha moved a Motion in Lok Sabha on August 3, 1977, urging the Government to set up a 3-man commission for conducting a fresh inquiry into the mystery of the disappearance of Netaji. The discussion on the Motion was inconclusive. The matter was placed before the CCPA with the following proposals:

""The issue of Netaji's death and bringing of ashes to India is surcharged with emotion. We have already had two enquiries on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose. It has already been accepted that Netaji Subhash Chander Bose died in the air crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku. The Ministry of Home Affairs are, therefore, of the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another enquiry or/by bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions."

The CCPA approved the proposal on 27th February, 1991 and the matter was laid at rest.

(c) Report of the Japanese Foreign Office: In a note verbale issued by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy of India in Japan, dated January 31, 1956, the Foreign Office forwarded a report prepared by their Ministry on the cause of death and other matters related to late Subhash Chander Bose. The investigation report incorporated the fact that Netaji Subhash Chander Bose died on August 18, 1945, at 7 PM. The report, inter alia, included sequence of events leading to the sad demise of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose, along with rough sketch map of the airport, aircraft, and the Taipeh Army Hospital. This report was taken into account by both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission of Inquiry.

MEA'S SUGGESTION

: 4 :

(18)

9. MEA suggested that in view of the widespread sentiments that Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be befittingly commemorated, the ashes should be brought back to India with due respect and honour. This action would form part of the full public recognition of his role and contribution to India's independence. In doing so, the following preparatory action was envisaged:

i) Promotion of consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing back the ashes...public figures and others to be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes, or

ii) Alternatively, establishment of a committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary with participation of public figures of various political opinions who would give a call for bringing back the late leader's ashes to India.

MHA'S CONCLUSION

10. Based on the inputs received from MEA and IB, it was felt that, if a decision is taken to bring the ashes back to India, creation of favourable public opinion will be a crucial step in the realisation of this objective. Some members of the Bose family, particularly Shri Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew, and individuals like Prof. Samar Guha and members of the Forward Bloc, are not reconciled to the fact that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku. It would, therefore, be necessary to take members of Netaji's family into confidence in the first place by convincing them of the genuineness of the ashes.



(16)

विदेश सचिव
विदेश मन्त्रालय, नई दिल्ली-110011
FOREIGN SECRETARY
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI-110011

(19)

TOP SECRET

No. 25/4/N60 (Pt.)

19 June 1995

Dear Padmini,

Please refer to your letter No. F.1/12014/27/93-ISD. III dated 31 March, 1995 and subsequent letter of even number dated 6 June, 1995 from Special Secretary, Shri V.K.Jain regarding the remains of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose.

2. As suggested by you, we have consulted our Ambassador in Tokyo and would like to convey the following information :

i) Present arrangements: The ashes are currently kept in an urn on the right side of the main altar in the Renkoji Temple in the outskirts (but within the city) of Tokyo. The Shrine is looked after by Rev. Yasufumi Mochizuki whose father was the priest of the shrine earlier and had personally brought the ashes from Taipei about fifty years ago. Once a year, on the occasion of Netaji's death anniversary on August 18, a memorial service is held which is attended by close associates of Netaji and representatives of the Embassy. A list of these associates is attached. It would be noticed that the youngest is 55 years old while the oldest is 88 years old.

ii) Security: Like in all Shrines in Japan, there is no security except what is ensured by the reverence and respect shown by the Japanese towards religious places. The door is normally kept closed though there is no guarantee that it is always locked. Nobody has ever felt the need to lock it. The normal practice is that whenever anybody wants to visit the Shrine, the priest is informed and is present during the visit. It might be stressed that the Shrine is not exclusively devoted to the ashes of Netaji and is visited by worshippers who have not necessarily come to pay respect to the ashes.

Contd....2/-

(20)

Any request from us to strengthen security is not likely to be received kindly as this is a place of worship open to all. Furthermore, any suggestion from us that security should be stepped up could well revive the occasional suggestions from the Japanese that we should take the ashes to India.

iii) Pressure for removal of ashes to India: Our Ambassador has the impression that such pressure as there is comes chiefly from the associates of Netaji who are growing older and who feel a personal sense of responsibility for the ashes. They feel that after them there might be nobody to pay proper respect to the memory of Netaji. Even within the group, the main pressure is from the older members, especially Mr. Hayashi, Secretary of the "Bose Academy". He is in poor health. The younger members seem to be quite willing to carry on the memorial service although they would all be happy to see Netaji's ashes repatriated to India with due honour and ceremony. Hayashi had said, at the memorial service on 18 August 1994, that that would be the last memorial service "in keeping with Buddhist tradition and practice". It is not clear that there is any rule for discontinuance of the memorial service after fifty years. In any case, the next Memorial Service is due on 18 August 1995 and our Embassy has an impression that other members of the group might continue the practice.

(iv) The Priest : Discussions with the priest, Rev. Mochizuki, show that he is quite happy to carry on the work of looking after the ashes. The presence of the ashes gives his temple some additional importance and some additional income by way of the Yen 600,000 that we donate annually for its upkeep. It might be desirable to increase this contribution, perhaps to Yen one million (Rs. 3,67.782 at this month's official exchange rate). Last year, Rev. Mochizuki told our Embassy that he has absolutely no problem in continuing this work. He also said that his father received the ashes with the blessings of the Governments of Japan and India and that he has no intention of doing anything without the full consultation and approval of these two Governments.

(v) Foreign Office : The Foreign Office has occasionally raised this matter with us and has asked whether, in view of the forthcoming 50th anniversary of Netaji's death and the forthcoming

(2)

centenary of his birth (23rd January, 1997), we propose to take the ashes back to India. This has been more in the nature of an enquiry than a suggestion. But we know that some members of Netaji's family have occasionally contacted the Japanese authorities with various suggestions. Ashis Ray of CNN, who is the son of Netaji's elder brother, had visited Japan about a year ago and had met officials at the Foreign Office. Ms. Anita Pfaff, Netaji's daughter from his German wife, had visited Delhi for discussions with other members of the family and had been in touch with the Japanese Ambassador in Delhi in February 1995. She had also written to some associates of Netaji, including Mr. Hayashi. It is unlikely that the Foreign Office would do anything without consulting us and seeking our concurrence. In fact, they never raised the matter with us till the visit of Ashis Ray.

3. Our Ambassador feels that Netaji's ashes seem to be housed in an adequate manner but, as is traditional in shrines in Japan, there is no security against any deliberate attempt to create problems. If any specific or concrete threat can be pointed out, the Japanese side will provide security, but it cannot be judged without making the request whether a general call to strengthen security will bring compliance. It should be noted that the ashes have been kept for the last fifty years without any problem. While the Japanese will be happier if the ashes were taken to India, there does not seem to be any reason for precipitate action to move the ashes. This assessment by the Embassy is based on oblique, informal and discreet enquiries since direct questioning might create the impression that GOI is planning on some action.

4. As regards contingency plans, these can be drawn up once the type of contingency is known. In case the ashes are removed from the temple but not returned to India, the only location for housing them would be the Embassy. Suitable facilities would then need to be constructed for adequate security as well as for public display of the ashes in a manner consistent with the necessary respect and reverence. In the event of a sudden unforeseeable contingency, it would be possible to lock up the ashes in the Strong Room in the Embassy. In either eventuality, the implication would be formal acceptance by GOI that these

(22)

ashes are indeed of Netaji's: It is not possible to cover contingencies such as natural calamities or social unrest since these are difficult to foresee and provide for.

5. Our Ambassador feels, and we agree, that the most desirable solution might be for a consensus to be reached in India for the ashes to be brought back with full honour and ceremony. Till that becomes possible, the best option may be to continue the status quo as long as possible despite such inadequacies as have been observed over the last fifty years.

Best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Sathman / Haidar
(S . Haidar)

7c

Shri K. Padmanabhaiah,
Home Secretary,
North Block,
New Delhi.

Issued w/L²
20/6/95

LIST OF MEMBERS OF NETAJI SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE ACADEMY

1. Mr. T. Abe (76) 85-28 Naganuma-machi, Hachimoji-shi
2. Mr. S. Aburaya (72) 7-19-5 Joyo Koto-ku
3. Mr. Y. Ishikawa (74) 1101-13-8-2, Azabu 10 fan, Minato-ku
4. Ms. S. Ikeda (71) 8-23-4, Shimomeguro Meguro-ku
5. Mr. T. Inoue (76) 9-24-2, Syonandai, Fujizawa-shi
6. Mr. J. Iwahara (77) 5C Nakamine Mansion 27-2-5, Akasaka, Minato-ku
7. Mr. S. Okuda (72) 25-21-2, Nishi Azabu, Minato-ku
8. Mr. H. Ohyashiki (73) 902-11-54-3 Wada Suginami-ku
9. Mr. Y. Kanatomi (83) 5-54-3 Izumi-machi, Suginami-ku
10. Ms. C. Tsukamoto (68) " " "
11. Ms. F. Tadokoro (73) 8-47-1 Arakawa, Arakawa-ku
12. Mr. T. Kuwabara (78) 12-29-2 Shirayuri Izumu-ku, Yokohama
13. Mr. T. Negishi (88) 6-8-5 Narita Higashi, Suginami-ku
14. Mr. C. Fujii (76) 12-9-1 Tsuga Wakafa-ku, Chiba-shi
15. Mr. K. Maeda (82) 30-1 Higashi Shinmachi, Itawashi-ku
16. Ms. K. Matsushima (69) 606-10-1-5 Minami Aoyama, Minato-ku
17. Mr. T. Shimoda (73) 6-19-5 Inamuragasaki, Kamakura-shi
18. Mr. K. Sakemi (74) Co-Tateishi, 7-2373 Ohyaguchi, Uraawa-shi
19. Mr. K. Murata (76) 1101-6-11-3 Itobashi-ku
20. Mr. K. Mochizuki (55) 20-30-3 Wada Suginami-ku
PRIEST. (Renkoji Temple)
21. Mr. M. Hayashi (82) 3000 Nofprito Tama-ku, Kawasaki-shi

SECRETARY

ASHIS C

14417/F5/95

14/9

4096/EAM/45

819/24

(2) crm

(17)

F-162 Malcha Marg

New Delhi - 110021.

7016/N G6/95

5 September, 1995.

7-X-95

Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India
Race Course Road
New Delhi.

Dear Prime Minister,

I realise you are receiving conflicting signals on the issue of Netaji's remains. And I do not wish to be a part of a pressure group one way or the other.

All I wish to submit is that my continuing research on the subject convinces me that the best way forward is to do a DNA test, which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Renkoji temple are Netaji's or not. I have spoken to an expert on the subject; and he has no doubt that irrevocable proof can be obtained.

~~PM~~ I propose that an International team of experts, one of whom can be from our DNA centre at Hyderabad, is entrusted with the job, with a set of observers drawn from the Bose family, Forward Bloc and such like.

You have doubtless noticed that last week a team of DNA experts established that remains regarding which there were doubts do indeed belong to Czar Nicholas. All we need is a blood sample from a relative and bone particles from the ashes or a tooth (which is likely to exist in the urn on the basis of a claim made by Netaji's ADC, Colonel Habibur Rahman) to carry out the test.

A direction from you on the matter can set the ball rolling.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

ASHIS C
EAM May 1995
Section
2584-M
8-7-95

EAM May 1995
For (P)
14/9 18/9 FLS
NAD sub
TOTAL P.01

~~TOP SECRET~~

(25)

Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

The Union Cabinet had considered on February 8, 1995, the question of bringing the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose from Japan to India. While deferring a final decision, the Cabinet directed that the dependability of the arrangements in Japan should be properly examined and that a contingency plan for the proper upkeep of the mortal remains should be drawn up, and that our Ambassador in Tokyo be specifically requested to look into these aspects. Reference on this subject was received by Foreign Secretary from Home Secretary Shri K. Padmanabhaiya, on March 31, 1995.

2. After obtaining detailed assessment from our Ambassador in Tokyo, Foreign Secretary replied to Home Secretary, conveying information on the subject, which, inter alia, outlined the present arrangements to keep the ashes, existing security arrangements at the shrine, pressure for removal of ashes to India, the views of the Priest, Rev. Mochizuki, stand of the Foreign Office, and Ambassador's impressions. A copy of Foreign Secretary's letter dated June 19, 1995, is placed below.

3. On September 5, 1995, Ashish C. Ray of CNN, who is the son of Netaji's elder brother, proposed to the Prime Minister, in his fax, to direct conducting of a DNA test, which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Renkoji Temple, are Netaji's or not. Further, he proposed that an international team of experts, one of whom could be from our DNA Centre at Hyderabad, be "entrusted with the job, with a set of observers from the Bose family, the Forward Bloc, and such like". Copy of Shri Ray's fax is also enclosed for ready reference.

4. A background note on the death/disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose, based on observations of Shah Nawaz Committee Report and Khosla Commission of Inquiry, is kept on file for EAM's information. This background note also includes report received from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated February 3, 1956.

Submitted.

F.S.

Rajat Saha
(Rajat Saha)
Director(CNV)
16-11-1995

(26)
124 - P-2/3

(rough translation)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Russian Federation

No. 2/YuA

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation presents its compliments to the Embassy of Republic of India and with reference to the Embassy's Note dated 16 September 1991, has the honour to inform that according to the data in the Central and Republican Archives, no information whatsoever is available on the stay of the former President of Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, in the Soviet Union in 1945 and thereafter.

The Ministry avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Moscow
8 January 1992

Embassy of the
Republic of India
Moscow

Subject :- Death/Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

In pursuance of the then Prime Minister's announcement in Parliament on 3.12.55 the Government of India appointed a committee on 5th April 1956 "to enquire into and report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August 1945, his alleged death as a result of an aircraft accident, and subsequent developments therewith".

Shah Nawaz Committee Report

2. Shri Shah Nawaz Khan, Shri Suresh Chandra Bose (elder brother of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose) and Shri S.N. Maitra, ICS (a nominee of the Government of West Bengal) were the members of the Committee which began its work in early April 1956 and completed the report by end July 1956.

3. The Committee examined 67 witnesses including a number of persons who were known to have been associated with Netaji in the last stages. Of these 32 witnesses were examined at Tokyo (Japan), 4 at Bangkok (Thailand) and 3 at Saigon (Vietnam) and the balance of 28 at Delhi and Calcutta. In India, the committee examined five of the six persons who accompanied Netaji on his last flight from Bangkok including Mr. S.A. Ayer, Mr. Debnath Das and Col. Habibur Rehman. The Committee also examined Gen. J.K. Bhonsle, Chief of the General Staff of the INA. The Commission examined not only those who had information to give, but those who had theories to propound. The members of the committee visited Bangkok, Saigon and Tokyo and were able to examine four of the six Japanese survivors of the plane crash, as well as two doctors who attended Netaji during his last hours. The members of the committee did not visit Formosa which was the actual scene of occurrence of the plane crash, as there were difficulties in doing so on account of the fact that no diplomatic relations existed between the Government of India and the authorities in Formosa. The report forwarded to our Mission in Tokyo by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jan 1956 was also made available to the Commission. The report, inter alia, drawn up the sequence of events following Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's departure from Bangkok on 17.8.1955 to his sad demise on 18.8.55 and cremation thereafter. This report may be seen at Annexure I.

4. In its report, the Commission dealt with the following points:-

- (i) Last of the plans of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose
- (ii) Air crash at Taihoku (Formosa)
- (iii) Death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose
- (iv) Cremation of Netaji's body
- (v) Netaji's ashes
- (vi) Treasure

Each of these points is dealt with in a self-contained chapter. After fully considering the evidence available, two of the members (S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra) came to the conclusion that while taking off from Taihoku (Formosa) in the afternoon of 18th August 1945, the Japanese military plane carrying Netaji and his companion (Col. Habibur Rehman) developed some trouble and burst into flames. Suffering from severe burns Netaji was carried into the Taihoku Hospital where, after some hours, he passed away. The final recommendation of the committee signed by S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra may be seen at annexure II.

5. Netaji Inquiry Committee Report 1956 was made available as a 'priced publication'.

6. The third member of the Committee Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, submitted a dissentient report stating that there had been no plane crash involving Netaji's death. However, the majority report was accepted by the Government.

Nehru Commission of Enquiry

7. In view of widespread feeling amongst the public that the problem of finding the truth about Netaji's death still remains and that there has been a persistent demand for a further inquiry into the matter, the Central Government instituted on 11th July, 1970 one man commission of inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court was appointed as sole member.

8. Besides the Shah Nawaz Committee report, the dissenting report of Shri Suresh Chandra Bose submitted on Oct 9, 1956 and placed on the table of the Rajya Sabha on 12th Dec., 1956 was placed before the Commission. In all, 224 witnesses were examined by the Commission and a large number of documents, letters, newspaper reports, books and memoranda were received and read. While the Shah Nawaz Committee had not been able to go to Taiwan which resulted in a great deal of criticism, the Commission visited Taiwan in July, 1973. The Commission spent about 8 days at Taipei recording the evidence of witnesses, inspecting the airfield where the crash was alleged to have taken place and visiting the crematorium where Bose's body was alleged to have been cremated.

9. The basic findings of the 'air crash' theory has been summarised by the commission which reads as "After giving the most anxious consideration to all the available evidence, the criticism to which the statements of the various witnesses were subjected and the arguments advanced by counsel, I have reached the conclusion that the story of the aircrash at the Taihoku airfield in Taiwan and the subsequent death of Bose, resulting from burn injuries sustained by him in crash must be believed. This story is substantiated by the testimony of wholly independent witnesses, four of whom were Bose's co-passengers in the plane which crashed, one is the doctor who attended to him and signed his death certificate and several others mentioned in the course of this chapter who have corroborated this story in all material particulars. I am not prepared to accept the contention that the entire military organisation of Japan had entered into conspiracy to put forward a false story in order to cover up Bose's escape. Such a hypothesis is foreign to reason and to human nature. Most of the witnesses who gave evidence impressed me by their frank and honest demeanour. The Doctor, too, appeared to be a most convincing witness of truth. The criticism advanced against the testimony of these witnesses has been

discussed by me in the foregoing pages, and in the end, it is only necessary to say that this criticism does not shake the strength and the value of the evidence.

I, therefore, find it proved beyond all reasonable doubt that Bose travelled in a Japanese bomber from Touraine to Taihoku on the morning of 18th of August, 1945. At Taihoku the plane stopped for a short time to refuel. The pilot detected a snag in one of the engines. This was attended to, and the pilot pronounced the aircraft to be airworthy. The propellers of one of the engines had been damaged in a previous accident and the repair carried out did not completely restore the efficiency of the engine. This finally caused the crash at Taihoku, almost immediately after the plane took off. The plane crashed to the ground, broke into two parts and caught fire. In this fire the pilot and Genl. Shidei died instantaneously and of the other men on board, the co-pilot Ayoagi died later and Bose also succumbed to his burn injuries during the course of the following night. His body was cremated and the ashes were taken to Tokyo ".//The Commission dealt with three matters which were construed as having a remote ~~matters~~, and indirect bearing on the facts of the enquiry. These are:-

- (i) What was the exact nature of relations between Nehru and Bose;
- (ii) Was Bose declared a war criminal, liable to be tried and punished by the Special Tribunal set up for this purpose; and
- (iii) What is the significance of the earliest enquiries regarding Bose conducted by Intelligence and secret service personnel.

In addition the Commission considered the evidence of a number of witnesses whose importance lies not in the intrinsic worth of what they had to say, but in the enthusiasm and persistence with which they pressed their claim to be heard. Further, the Commission analysed other versions of Bose's whereabouts and the various stories that were narrated in the course of the Inquiry, to disprove the allegation of his death at Taipei. There were many witnesses who severally claim to have seen, met or talked to Bose at various times and places long after August 18, 1945. The Commission opined that numerous stories about encounters with Bose at various places after 1945 are completely false and unacceptable.

10. Taking into accounts all facts of the case, the Commission concluded that Bose had sustained burn injuries of the third degree following air crash a little after 2.35 p.m. on 18.8.1945 and despite the efforts of the doctors to revive him, he succumbed to his injuries the same night. The findings of the Commission may be seen at Annexure III which, inter alia, incorporates sequence of events leading to the sad demise of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

11. Report of the ONE MAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was published at New Delhi on June 30, 1974.

Translation.

(30) THE GAIMUSHO

Dy No 50

3.2.56

No. 24/A4

NOTE VERBALE

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in Japan, and has the honour to enclose herewith a report, prepared by the Ministry, on the cause of death and other matters related to the late Subhas Chandra Bose for the latter's information.

Tokyo, January 31, 1956.



(2)

四第二四号

口 上 書

外務省は、在本邦インド大使館に誠意を表するとともに、同省で
調成した故スバス・チャンドラ・ボース氏の死因等に関する報告書
を御参考までに別添のとおり添付するの光榮を有する。

昭和三十一年一月二十一日

外 務 省

Investigation on the cause of death and
other matters of the late Subhas Chandra Bose.

Regarding the cause of death of the late Subhas Chandra Bose and articles left by him, inquiries were made of the following persons who are considered to have had some relations with the matter.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation at that time</u>
Mr. T. Hachiya	Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Provisional Government of Free India.
Mr. S. Nonogaki	Lieut.-Colonel, Staff Officer, Headquarters, Air Forces in Java.
Mr. T. Yoshimi	Surgeon Captain, Head, Nanmon Branch of Taipei Army Hospital.
Mr. T. Tsuruta	Army surgeon of the above Hospital.
Mr. K. Arai	Captain, Headquarters, Tsukasa Air Corps.
Mr. M. Takakura	Lieut.-Colonel, Staff Officer, Imperial Headquarters.
Mr. M. Shibuya	Lieut.-Colonel, Staff Officer, Headquarters, Army Forces in Formosa.
Mr. T. Sakai	Lieut.-Colonel, Staff Officer, Headquarters, Army Forces in Burma.
Mr. K. Sakai	Major, Battalion Commander, Taipei Military Air Port.
Mr. M. Kinoshita	Major, Imperial Headquarters.
Mr. M. Nakamura	Captain, Taipei Military Air Port.
Mr. H. Hasegawa	Sublieutenant, Imperial Headquarters.
Mr. T. Hayashida	Sublieutenant, Headquarters, Army Forces in Formosa.

(33)

An outline of the result of the investigations is as follows:

1. Movements of Mr. Bose

August 17,	8 a.m.	left Bangkok
"	11 a.m.	arrived at Saigon
"	5 p.m.	left Saigon
"	7:30 p.m.	arrived at Tourane
August 18,	7 a.m.	left Tourane
"	0.30 p.m.	arrived at Taipei
"	1.50 p.m.	left Taipei

Immediately after taking off, the airplane in which he rode fell to the ground, and he was wounded.

August 18, about 3.00 p.m. he entered the Nanmon Branch of Taipei Army Hospital.

" 7.00 p.m. he died.

August 22, he was cremated (at the Taipei Municipal crematorium)

August 23, his funeral ceremony was held
(at the Taipei Nishi-Honganji Temple)

Mr. Bose, accompanied by Adjutant Rahmin, left Saigon on August 17 on board a liaison airplane (heavy bomber, twin-engined, Type II remodelled 97), and arrived at Taipei air-port a little past noon on the next day.

The airplane, first scheduled to land at Heito air-port, Taiwan (Formosa), changed the plan on the way for flying to Taipei directly, as both the weather and engines had been found to be in good condition, and extended its flight to Taipei without any notice there beforehand.

(34)

The airplane left Taipei air-port before 2 p.m. after refueling and lunching.

At the moment when the pitch of the propellers was changed after the plane had taken off and risen about 20 metres above the ground, one petal of the three-petaled propeller of the left wing was suddenly broken, and the engine fell off. The airplane, subsequently unbalanced, crashed into ballast piles, beside the strip of the air-port, for repairing bombed holes (Reference: Annex I), and was wrapped in flames in a moment.

Immediately after the plane's fall, the passengers on board escaped from it, but, as the persons in the front deck (Reference: Annex II) were soaked with gasoline in auxiliary tanks all over their bodies, they suffered serious burns; Lieut.-General Shidei and other two men died within the plane.

Mr. Bose, wrapped up in flames, got off the plane; Adjutant Rahmin and other passengers exerted themselves to take his clothes off, but as his thick sweater for cold weather was permeated with gasoline, his whole body was seriously wounded by burns.

Mr. Bose, wholly unclothed, was sent to the Nanmon Branch of Taipei Army Hospital accompanied by Adjutant Rahmin, Staff-Officer Nonogaki, and other persons. He was diagnosed by the Head of the Hospital Yoshimi, and Military-Surgeon Tsuruta (surgical treatment was mainly done by Military-Surgeon Tsuruta, a surgical expert).

At the commencement of the treatment, Mr. Bose said that other persons might as well be treated first and he would be treated last, but the treatment was commenced with him.

His conditions: His whole body suffered serious burns 2° and 3°
(2° = dropsical swellings appear on the skin;
3° = skin is carbonized), and had a colour of
oxidized silver caused from burns and sores.

His face unusually swollen, but his consciousness
was clear.

A considerable quantity of Ringer's solution was instantly injected;
wounds and burns were treated; and after the injections of Sulfa-drugs,
he was swathed from top to toe, and brought to a sick-room. (Reference:
Annex III).

Mr. Bose, thinking he could not live, asked Military-Surgeon
Tsuruta to attend on him all night, so Tsuruta continued to sit beside
the sick-bed.

Until about 7 p.m. he kept clear consciousness, and had talks with
Adjutant Rahman, but suddenly his consciousness was lost, and his heart
ceased to move. In spite of several injections of heart stimulant and
artificial respiration, he could not revive.

By his side were Military-Surgeon Tsuruta, Colonel Rahman,
Interpreter Nakamura and a gendarme (as a guard) at the moment of his
death. (Reference: Annex IV)

2. Disposition of his remains and articles left by him.

(1) Major Sakai, Ex-Battalion Commander of Taipei Air-
port, ordered 20 odd soldiers under his command and gendarmes
to collect baggage of the passengers of the wrecked plane on
the afternoon of August 18.

(36)

At this search, things considered to have belonged to Mr. Bone were put into a 18-litre's petroleum can, which was sealed in the presence of the commander and gendarme on duty and brought to the Taiwan (Formosa) Army Headquarters.

(2) At the Headquarters, Lieut.-Colonel Shibuya, an aerial chief, received it and put it in a wooden box.

The box was sealed once again and kept safely, and was sent, together with Mr. Bone's remains, to Tokyo under the care of Adjutant Rahmin and Lieut.-Colonel Sakai, ex-staff officer of the Army in Burma district, who left Taipei on September 5.

(3) As Colonel Rahmin and Lieut.-Colonel Sakai were somewhat disabled due to wounds, the custody of the box was entrusted to Sublieutenant Miyachida, a fellow-traveller, on the way.

After arriving at Fukuoka, Lieut.-Colonel Sakai took charge of the transport of the box under the guard of three soldiers dispatched from the Army of the Western District.

The group went up to Tokyo by train, and on September 7, 11:00 p.m. the box was handed to Major Kinoshita, commanding officer of the week, Imperial Headquarters.

(4) The box was transferred to Lieut.-Colonel Takakura, staff-officer, Imperial Headquarters, about 8 a.m. on the following day.

(37)

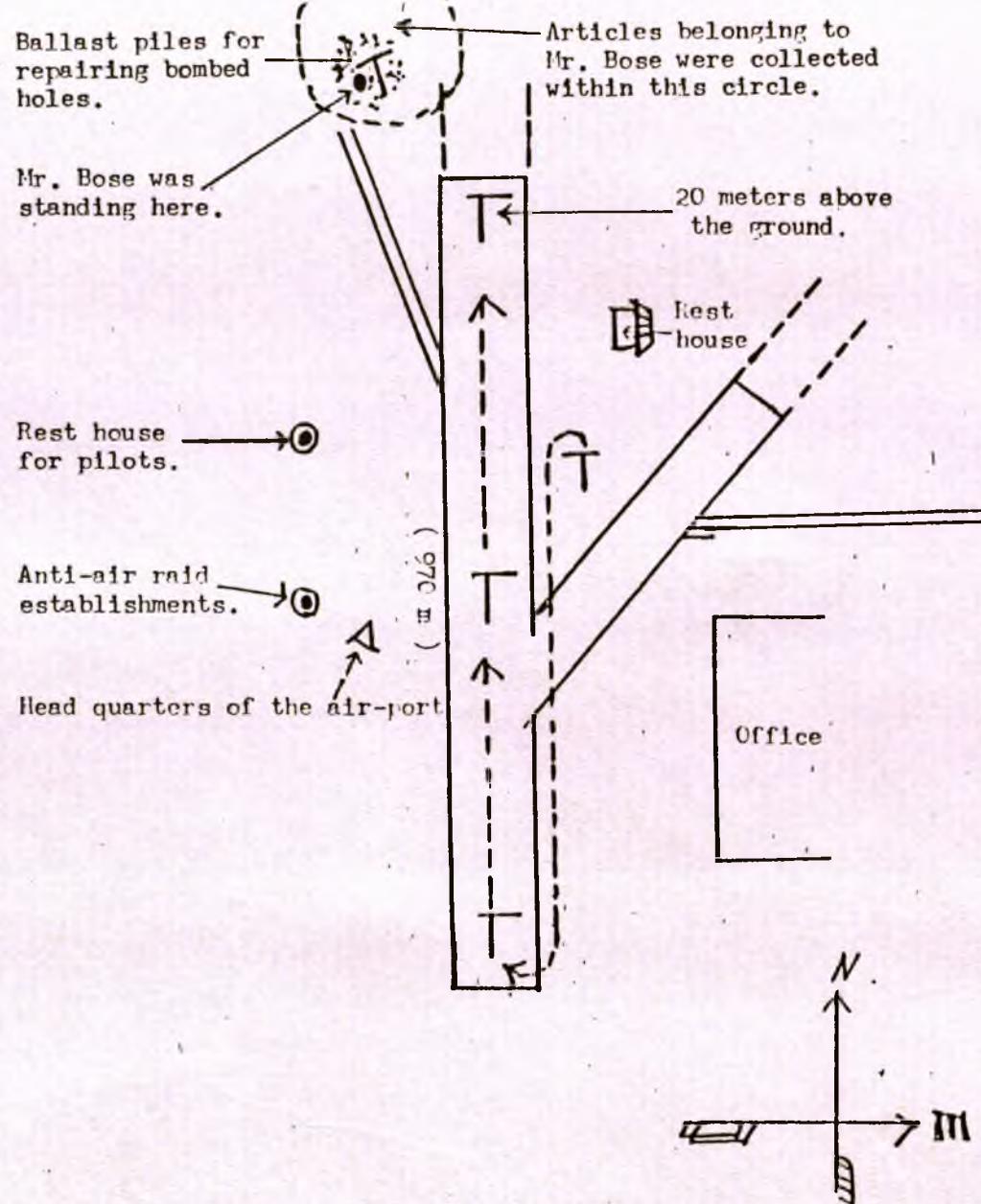
(5) The remains of Mr. Bose were handed to Mr. Ayyar, and the articles left by Mr. Bose to Mr. Murti, respectively, from Lieut.-Colonel Takakura a few minutes past noon on the same day at the entrance of the Imperial Headquarters.

It is additionally stated that, according to the man who then commanded his subordinates at the air-port in collecting the articles, the can was 90 per cent filled, the contents of which were decoration-like metals, chain-like metals, ring-like metals and spurs, but, as those things had been burnt at the accident, none of them were clearly identified.

Other than the personnel working at the air-port at that time, no one knew anything about the contents, because the box was strictly sealed.

Sketch-map of the Air Port.

(1)



II

Crew (Equipment)

— Crew, died on the spot

Major Nakajima (chief pilot), died on the spot

Lieut.-General Shidei, died on the spot

Auxiliary tanks

Lieut.-Colonel Sakai

"

Dorsal turret

The body around
it at the point

Captain Arai

Major Nakashita

Lieut.-Colonel Nonoguchi (Head of the plane)

Adjutant Rahnin

Mr. Rose

Major Kono (pilot)

Warrant-officer Aoyagi (assistant pilot)

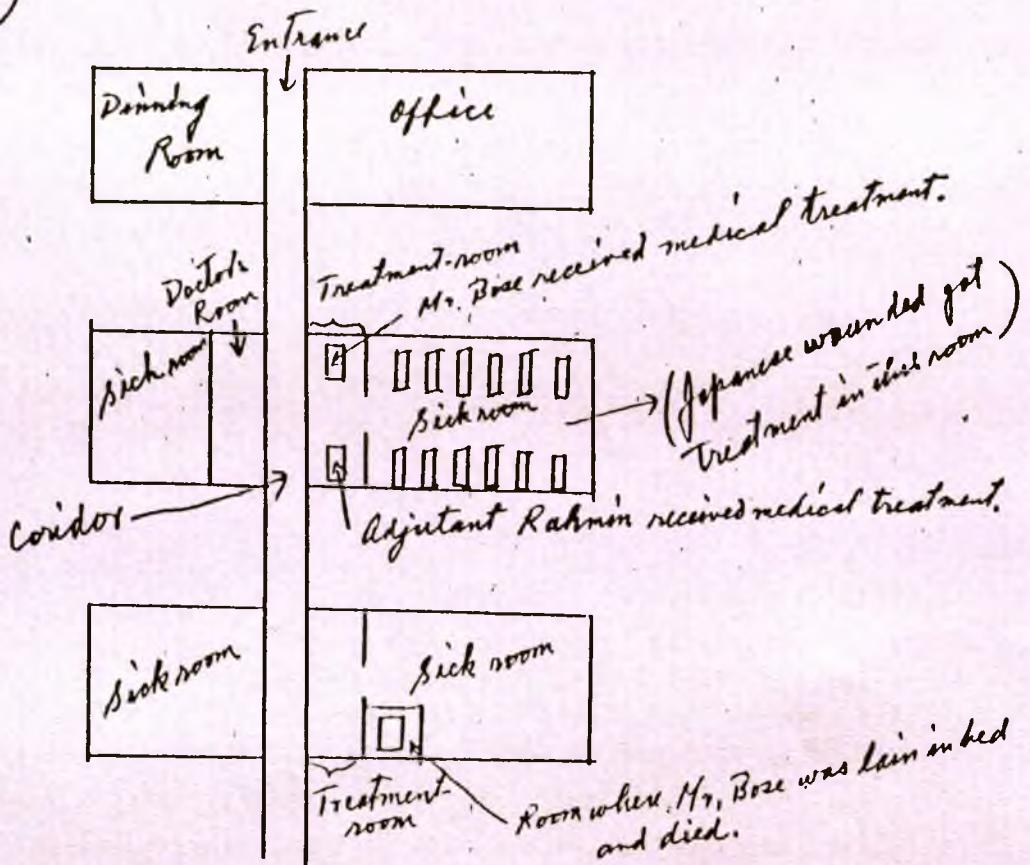
Radio operator

Propeller caused the accident

Sketch of the Hammer Branch of Taipei Army Hospital

(40)

(III)

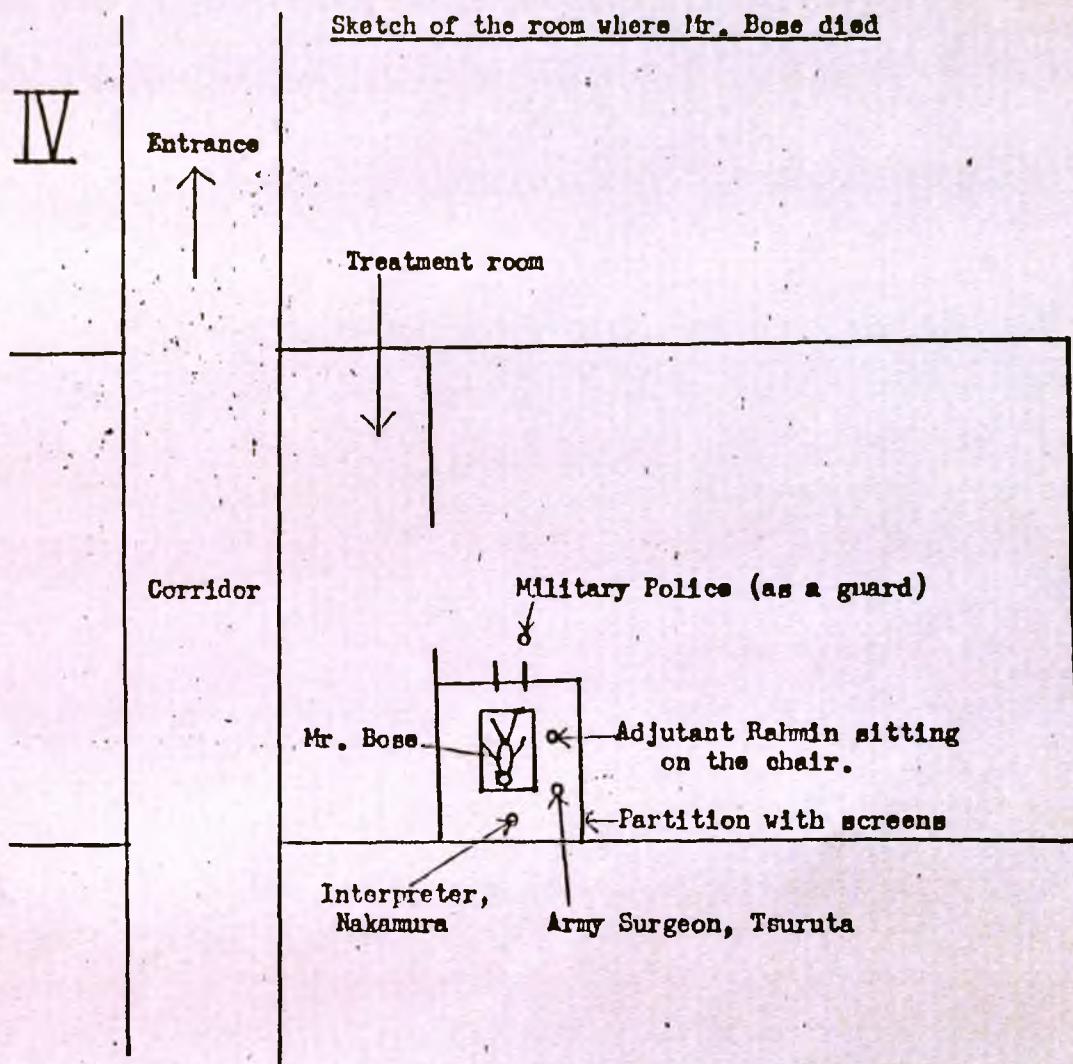


This sketch was drawn on December 3, '45,
according to the memory of Mr. Taurata, 2nd Army
Surgeon of the Army Hospital.

(61)

Sketch of the room where Mr. Bose died

IV



(This sketch was drawn according to the memory of Mr. Tsuruta)

(U2)

RECOMMENDATION OF
SHAH NAWAZ COMMITTEE

CHAPTER VII

RECOMMENDATION

THE Committee has come to the conclusion that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose met his death in an air crash, and that the ashes now at Renkoji temple, Tokyo, are his ashes. Rev. Mochizuki and the trustees of the Renkoji temple have already kept the ashes for a number of years. Their services deserve to be recognised. If the ashes are taken to be genuine, Renkoji temple cannot obviously be their final resting place. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died ten years ago. It is time that his ashes were brought to India with due honour, and a memorial erected over them at a suitable place. This we recommend for the serious consideration of the Government of India. It may be mentioned in this connection that influential circles in Japan are considering putting up a memorial to Netaji in that country. If Netaji's mortal remains are honoured, and his ideals kept alive, then one could truly ask "Where is death's sting, where, grave thy victory?"

(Sd.) SHAH NAWAZ KHAN

S. N. MAITRA

(U3)

FINDINGS OF KHOSLA COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

NINE FINDINGS

9.1 The conclusions arrived at in the preceding chapters may now be set down as the findings of the Commission.

- (i) Bose was informed on August 12, 1945, that the war was about to conclude and the Japanese had decided to surrender to the Allied Forces. He was at that time at Saranban. The message was brought to him there by Negishi (Witness No. 50).
- (ii) Bose at once left for Singapore where he discussed his future plans with his colleagues and the Ministers of his Cabinet, almost day and night. The decision was taken on the 14th when Sakai arrived and conferred with Bose. It was decided that Bose himself should leave Singapore and try to escape to Russia where he hoped to find asylum.
- (iii) On the morning of 16-8-1945, Bose left Singapore accompanied by Col. Habibur Rahman, S. A. Iyar (Witness No. 29), a Japanese Liaison Officer Negishi (Witness No. 50), Col. Pritam Singh (Witness No. 155) and others. The party arrived at Bangkok at 3.30 P.M. and spent the night there.
- (iv) At about 8 A.M. on 17-8-1945, Bose and party left by two planes for Saigon. Bose's party included Col. Habibur Rahman, Deb Nath Das (Witness No. 3), S. A. Iyer (Witness No. 29), Hachia (Witness No. 51), Ishoda (Witness No. 68), Gulzara Singh (Witness No. 153), Col. Pritam Singh (Witness No. 155), Abid Hassan (Witness No. 157) and others. The party arrived at Saigon at 11 A.M.
- (v) The planes in which Bose and his party had travelled to Saigon had to go back, and fresh arrangements had to be made for the next stage of the journey. Bose was informed that one seat could be given to him in a Japanese bomber which had come from Manila and was going to Dairen in Manchuria. The plane, Bose was informed, had, on board, a number of Japanese army officers who had been posted to Manchuria and who could not be left behind.
- (vi) Bose was very upset on hearing this, because he wanted to carry all the members of his party with him. Ishoda and Hachia were sent to Dalat where Field Marshal Tarauchi was camping. These two emissaries could not see Tarauchi personally, but his Adjutant told them that it might be possible to make available two or three seats in all for Bose.
- (vii) Ishoda and Hachia returned to Saigon and conferred with the pilot of the plane and the Japanese military authorities there. The conclusion was that two seats were placed at the disposal of Bose.
- (viii) After some discussion, Bose decided to avail himself of the two seats, and asked Habibur Rahman to accompany him.
- (ix) The Japanese bomber left Saigon at approximately 5 P.M. carrying Bose, Habibur Rahman, Lt. Col. Sakai (Witness No. 47), S. Nonongaki (Witness No. 53), Tarokono, Navigator (Witness No. 63), Takahashi (Witness No. 65), the pilot in charge Takizawa, Genl. Shidei, second pilot Ayogi, all three of whom were killed and some others, whose names need not be mentioned. They were the crew and other officers posted to Manchuria, or to Tokyo.
- (x) The plane arrived at Touraine at 7.45 P.M. and the party spent the night there.
- (xi) On the morning of 18-8-1945 the bomber left Touraine carrying the previous complement of crew and passengers and arrived at Taipei in Formosa at 2 P.M.

M4

- (xii) The party had a snack lunch at Taipei while the pilot attended to a snag, which he declared, had been corrected, after a short while.
- (xiii) The plane took off 2.35 P.M. but within a few seconds one of the engines flew out and the plane crashed near the fringe of the Taihoku airfield. The body of the plane broke into two parts and caught fire.
- (xiv) The pilot Takizawa and Genl. Shidei were killed inside the plane. The rest of the crew and passengers came out, but all of them had sustained burn injuries, two of them *viz.* Ayoagi and Bose had received very severe burns.
- (xv) The injured persons were carried to the army hospital a few kilometers from the airfield and given medical treatment.
- (xvi) Bose had sustained burn injuries of the third degree and despite the efforts of the doctors to revive him, he succumbed to his injuries the same night.
- (xvii) Of the other injured persons Ayoagi, the second pilot also died.
- (xviii) Two days later, Bose's body was cremated and his ashes were carried to Tokyo in the beginning of September 1945 where they were deposited in the Renkoji Temple.
- (xix) There is no reason for believing that the relations between Nehru and Bose were anything but friendly on a personal basis. Political differences between them did not lessen Bose's great respect for Nehru and Nehru's affection for the younger politician whose patriotism no one questioned.
- (xx) There is not the slightest evidence of any attempt by Nehru to suppress the truth about Bose at any stage or to make false statements about his death at Taihoku on August 18, 1945. His concession to a public demand for enquiry was an instance of his compliance with democratic procedures and not an admission of his disbelief in the truth of the crash story.
- (xi) The personnel of the Committee appointed by Nehru's government to enquire into Bose's disappearance is ample evidence of his *bona fides*. He appointed Bose's brother, who could be presumed to make an earnest search for truth about his brother and whose appointment would win public confidence. The Chairman was Shah Nawaz Khan, who was a close associate and confidant of Bose and who had taken a very prominent part in I.N.A.'s campaign against the British. Shah Nawaz Khan could, therefore, be depended upon to conduct the enquiry honestly and conscientiously. The third member was Shri S. N. Maitra, a member of the I.C.S. and a Bengali. He was chosen because of his administrative experience, his proved integrity and his attachment to Bose who belonged to his own State.
- (xxii) There is no evidence of any attempt by the present government to withhold evidence or place impediments in the way of this Commission. All documents called for have been supplied and the delay occasioned in making some files and documents available cannot be construed as placing obstacles in the progress of the enquiry. Such delays are a normal feature of government red-tape and pre-occupation with more urgent matters.
- (xxiii) Bose had impressed the Japanese as a great patriot and a competent administrator could win the confidence of Indians in South-East Asia. The Japanese, however, looked upon him not as an equal ally, but as a person whom they could use for their own ends. It was with great reluctance that they allowed Bose to organise the Burma campaign against the British forces. The Japanese, however, did not give adequate assistance to the I.N.A., and despite promises, they did not hand over the occupied territory to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. An instance in point was the Nicobar and Andaman Islands, the administration of which was not completely entrusted to Maj. General Loganathan, who was sent

as High Commissioner by Bose to take charge of the Islands. All the evidence points to the fact that the Japanese neither had complete confidence in Bose's ability to lead a large army and secure victories over the Allied Forces, nor did they fully trust him. They, nevertheless, had considerable respect for him because they saw that he was a man of remarkable courage and unquestioned patriotism.

(xxiv) The Japanese attitude towards Bose underwent a change when the war concluded. The Japanese were more concerned with trying to retrieve whatever they could of their own resources than with giving large-scale help to Bose which would have proved detrimental to their own interests. Also the blow to their self-esteem was so violent that they became indifferent to Bose and his future plans.

(xxv) The numerous stories about encounters with Bose at various times and various places after 1945, are completely false and unacceptable. They are the result either of hallucination helped by wishful thinking or have been invented by persons who wanted to draw attention to themselves and advertise themselves as public-spirited men.

9.2 The determination of the findings set down above brings this inquiry to its conclusion. Before I take leave of the matter, I must place on record my appreciation of the assistance rendered by the large number of the individuals and organisations who have assisted me at all stages of this long and sometimes arduous undertaking. It is not

possible to mention all names, but I am conscious of a sense of gratitude to many who are not specifically named, but who greatly facilitated my task in India and abroad. The readiness with which witnesses in Japan, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan came forward to give evidence was most gratifying. There are also others who rendered much assistance to me. The counsel appearing in the inquiry deserve my thanks for their courtesy and their sense of duty. I should particularly like to express my appreciation of the assistance rendered by Shri A. P. Chakraborty, who conducted himself completely in accordance with the highest traditions of the Bar, always courteous, always well prepared, always acting with a high sense of integrity and always willing to render real assistance to the Commission. I must also express my gratitude to the late Shri T. R. Bhasin, Counsel for the Commission, whose hard work and impartial summing up were of inestimable value to me. He was ably assisted by his junior Shri S. B. Wad.

9.3 I am beholden to the Commission's staff for their unstinted services at all times and more particularly when the pressure of work subjected them to not a little strain. This strain fell more particularly upon the stenographers and typists who had to work for long hours and type out a voluminous record and a long report. Without their co-operation and help it would not have been possible to conduct this inquiry and complete this report.

JUNE 30, 1974.

G. D. KHOSLA